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MANDAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 There was considerable variability in the status of household
 554 groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and
 571 participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status
 in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by
 selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge
 group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected
 before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and pro-
 claimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loy-
 alty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while
 subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will.
 166 Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but
 578 there are numerous references to groups transferring from one
 village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan
 groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one vil-
 lage, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the
 villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four rea-
 sons why a household group would change villages. When a cer-
 tain ceremony had been allowed to die out or become inactive,
 a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its
 social status by moving out of a village in which there were a
 number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in
 another where there were few having those particular cere-
 monial rights. Other household groups moved into another vil-
 lage over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dis-
 satisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have
 trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remem-
 bered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women
 over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their
 villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the
 women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders re-
 fused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which
 they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and
 sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites
 belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground
 was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to
 move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in
 preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region
 have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

THE MANDAN LIFE-CYCLE

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the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold. 555
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Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil. 555
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There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con- 773
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173 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
 538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
 554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
 571 in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of be-
 havior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller.
 Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable
 knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of
 success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in them-
 selves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal
 lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one
 was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and
 intimate relationship was established between them. Those who
 had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowl-
 edge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the
 leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
 785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
 554 his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and
 have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son"
 was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war
 records or had made significant contributions toward village
 welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men
 hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders.
 A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle
 from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles.
 Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or
 doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
 701 which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the
 village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It
 met every two or three days and received its instructions from
 the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever
 the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the
 village without permission. Each member carried a club carved
 according to his own individual preference, and he was expected
 to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the an-
 nouncer called through the village that the people were not to
 leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black
 Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

292 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of raw-
 575 hide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons
 293 of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other
 officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other
 black. Two officers bore a spiked club (*ō'o kahiri' ka*), the spike being of
 horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they
 never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied
 to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership
 privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate
 songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organiza-
 tion originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently
 [608] made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The
cō'ta ō'xal'e regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their
 "friends."

292 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the
 575 back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan
 called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then
 property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang
 songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers ad-
 dressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against
 the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

KIT-FOX SOCIETY.

575 The following account of this society (*ō'xox'atoc*) was given by Black-
 432 chest.

● 571 When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this
 society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we
 wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers,
 for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our
 "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus
 addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society
 and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you
 are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that
 she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say
 which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She
 was no clan aunt of mine.

575 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of
 527 food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on
 432 the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they
 approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their
 wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were
 grouped behind their husbands.

BRUNER]

Personal Contact and Acculturation

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purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources.

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society.

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age.

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations.

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to

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156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize absolute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
602 Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do
431 work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday behavior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group cooperation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older
[626
571] sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

177 By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so
867 effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a
177 case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated
154 Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a
867 superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

177 The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not
563 because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

177 important. As these conditions do exist, the transmission of white ways in an intimate family group becomes the major mechanism of acculturation.

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE VILLAGE

177 The thirty-four unacculturated families are isolated from surrounding whites, but they do have contact with the fourteen acculturated families who reside in the village. The acculturated group are a potential source of rapid culture change, and their influence could lead to the spread of white ways throughout the entire population of Lone Hill. But this does not happen. The cultural innovations initiated by the acculturated families are generally not accepted by the unacculturated majority. Why this is so may be understood by first making an additional distinction among the fourteen acculturated families and then describing the social interaction among the groupings that emerge.

571 A further differentiation is found when the criterion of acculturation is reapplied to the fourteen families who do not regularly attend the Indian ceremonials. Table 1 presents a final summary of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Seven families virtually never attend the dances; we continue to refer to them as acculturated. The remaining seven families, henceforth to be called "marginal," do participate in the ceremonials when they are in the village. However, the seven marginal families do not live in Lone Hill for more than six to eight months of the year. For the rest of the year, during their off-reservation periods, they interact with whites and with Indians from other tribes. Marginal families and individuals may leave abruptly by automobile for South Dakota, Montana, or even California, and stay away for months at a time. They are called marginal specifically because their shifting pattern of residence prevents them from regularly attending the Indian ceremonials and from fully participating in village culture. While they are living in Lone Hill, the marginal families interact primarily with unacculturated Indians. They are very active in community affairs, seem to uphold Indian beliefs and values, and at times are among the staunchest defenders of traditional Indian ways. Despite their varied experiences outside Lone Hill, the marginal families do not initiate major cultural change within the village.

Table 1.—Group Differences in Mandan-Hidatsa Acculturation

Degree of Acculturation	White Model in Household	
	Absent	Present
Unacculturated	31	3
Marginal	0	7
Acculturated	0	7

177 Observation indicates that members of the marginal families are restless, unsatisfied, rather unpredictable, and some are psychologically unstable. In
158 every one of these seven families there is a constant pattern of excessive drinking and fighting, and every adult male has a jail record for committing minor offenses. One of these men is a severe alcoholic, while a second has spent almost three years in a state asylum where he was diagnosed as a case of

342 angles, leaving open only a square space of about four feet on
 [351] each side. This serves for chimney and windows, as they have
 no other opening to admit of light; and when it rains, even this
 is covered over with a canoe to prevent the rain from impairing
 their earthen pots. The whole of the roof is then well thatched
 with willows, to the thickness of six inches or more. Over the
 whole is laid about one foot of earth, and round the base to the
 height of three or four feet, and the thickness of three feet,
 which answers for security in case of an attack by the enemy,
 and keeps out the cold. The door is five feet broad and six
 high, provided with a covered way or porch on the outside, of
 the same height as the door, about seven feet broad and ten feet
 in length.

342 The doors are made of raw buffalo hide stretched upon a
 352 frame and suspended by cords from the beam, which forms the
 circle. Every night the door is barricaded with a long piece of
 timber supported by two stout posts down in the ground, inside
 of the hut, one on each side of the door. As you enter the
 hut after passing through the porch and door, the first thing
 that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment on the
 left hand side of the door, and fronting the fire. This is for the
 purpose of fire-wood in the winter. This partition is constructed
 of square planks, about twelve feet high, and caulked to keep
 off the air from the door. Between the partition and the fire,
 there is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the
 master of the hut occupies during the day time, seated on a
 mat, constructed of small willows.* * * These mats are
 about ten feet long and four broad.¹ The two ends for about
 two and a half feet are raised from the ground in a slanting po-
 sition and each supported by a kind of sofa; over the mat is
 spread buffalo skins.

352 Some of these couches are raised about a foot above the
 511 ground. Seated upon this a Mandan sits all day long and re-
 ceives his friends, smokes and chats the time away, with the
 greatest dignity. He sometimes passes the night there also,
 when not inclined to lay with his wives.

INSIDE ARRANGEMENT OF HUTS.

352 On the left side of the hut begins their range of beds. The
 513 master and his favorite wife always occupy the first, and his
 other wives each a separate one in succession, next to those of
 the young people. All are constructed in the same manner,
 and joining to each other lengthways.

MEDICINE STAGE,

353 At the bottom of the hut fronting the "Masters' seat, stands
 his medicine stage, and indeed it may be called his whole riches
 1 [See Catalogue 116, p. 334-40. A.]